2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Another factional dispute that lasted for nearly a quarter-century prior to Indian Independence was a political one: political behaviour during that time took the form of a factional division. Many villages were not at all concerned with political matters, but the more informed ones—with higher literacy and closer links to the towns or missions—tended to be aligned either with the Indian National Congress and the Independence movement or with the Justice Party and a reliance on the British administration of India. The most aggressive phase in this factional history, when most villages became involved, was from Gandhi's salt *satyagraha* in 1930 up to the outbreak of war in 1939. The two factions would not eat together or talk to each other, would sometimes maintain different headmen and celebrate separate festivals, forbade intermarriage across the cleavage, and occasionally gave vent to outbreaks of violent fighting.

Just as the dispute over use of Kota music reinforced an existing factional division over the status of Ha:ruvas, so this political dispute became yet another facet of the same old quarrel: those who supported the Ha:ruva claim also supported the Indian National Congress. The reason for this is quite clear: in Madras Presidency the Justice Party was an anti-Brahmin party; its support depended largely on opposition to the apparent preponderance of Brahmins in the Congress and to the ease with which the Brahmin minority was getting the lion's share of government employment, to the envy of many non-Brahmins.[6] In the Nilgiris the dispute over Ha:ruva superiority was thus able to assume a political colouring, those opposed to Brahmins in general and *ipso facto* to the Ha:ruvas' claim being in support of the Justice Party.

Before the Kota music factions and this political division arose, a factional feud had split the Lingayats but did not involve other Badagas at all. It was triggered by intermarriage with Kanarese Lingayat girls, the first case of which occurred in an Adikiri family around 1890. Those who favoured marriage with Mysorean girls felt that it might raise their status to have connexions with the City of Mysore and its *Umland*, particularly as this was an area with many monasteries and an orthodox interpretation of Virashaivism, where the Badaga bridegrooms would receive the blessing *(ubadeś)* of a high-status *guru*; a dowry could also be asked of a Mysorean family. Most of these Badagas knew that the Lord Basava himself had taught that all men and women are equal, that caste distinctions and endogamy are social evils and not

178 have also disappeared (Emeneau 1938: 104-05). The Badagas are attempting to in-
648 crease the social distance between themselves and their more backward and polluting Kota neighbors (Mandelbaum 1960: 302-03).

Another factional dispute, which lasted for nearly a quarter century prior to
•665 Independence, was a political one: political behavior in that period took the form of a factional division. Although many hamlets were not concerned with political questions at all, the more informed ones -- with higher literacy and closer links to the towns or missions -- tended to align themselves either with the Indian National Congress and the independence movement, or with the Justice Party and a reliance on the British admi-
(578) nistration of India. At the most violent phase of this faction's history, from Gandhi's salt satyagraha in 1930 to the outbreak of war in 1939, most of the Badaga hamlets were involved in the dispute, and the two factions would not eat or speak together, would sometimes have separate hamlet headmen and celebrate festivals separately, would forbid intermarriage across the cleavage, and would give vent to occasional outbreaks of violent fighting.

We have already seen how the dispute over the use of Kota music reinforced
578 an existing factional division over the status of Haruvas. The political dispute we
615 have just described was in practice yet another facet of the dispute over Haruva
665 superiority: the people who supported the Haruva claim were the same people who supported the Indian National Congress. The reason for this is not difficult to see: in Madras Presidency the Justice Party was an anti-Brahmin party; its support depended strongly on the apparent preponderance of Brahmins in the Congress, and on the comparative ease with which the Brahmin minority was getting government employment (to the envy of most non-Brahmins). The great majority of people in the Presidency were not Brahmins, and looked upon Brahmins as incursors from North India. In the Nilgiris the dispute over Haruva superiority thus assumed a political

578 coloring, for those opposed to Brahmins in general, and ipso facto were in support
615 of the Justice Party.
C65 Before the Kota-music factions and the political dispute arose, another fac-
tional division had split all of the Lingayat groups but did not involve other Badagas
177 at all. Some of the Wodeyas, Kapalkas and Adikaris -- as we mentioned earlier in
582 this chapter (p. 123) -- started a practice of arranging marriages with Kanarese
(518) Lingayat girls who live in the area which had presumably been the Badaga home-land
many centuries ago. The first such marriage occurred around the year 1890, the
practice is still not common among Badaga Lingayats, and the marriage of Lingayat
(581) Badaga girls to Lingayat men in Mysore is extremely rare. My investigation showed
that the families who preferred marriage with Mysore people felt that it might raise
their prestige to marry girls from the city of Mysore and its umland, particularly
because this was an area with many monasteries and an orthodox interpretation of
(771) Vīraśaivism. Most of these people could also cite that the lord Basava himself
taught that all men and women are equal, and that caste distinctions and endogamy
are social evils, not divine prescripts. The Badaga Lingayats who have opposed the
578 idea of marrying girls from Mysore complain that, because Lingayat philosophy
798 countenances conversion from the lower classes, the Kanarese girl one marries
(582) may come from a family originally belonging to a very inferior caste, such as the
washermen or leather-workers. Once they have become Lingayats there is no sure
means of discovering what their real background has been. This factional split was
marked by more violence than most: its culmination came probably in a battle of a
thousand or more Lingayat men armed with sticks and rocks, which occurred at one
village in 1945. For many years the two factions had not intermarried or interdined
and after this fight they were not allowed to celebrate festivals in that particular

578 hamlet except under police surveillance, and separate times were allotted for the
798 two sides to use the temple. For over a decade that hamlet was the scene of such a heated division that each faction within the hamlet maintained its own headman and council.

A factional dispute over marriage with people from Mysore, which only con-
578 cerns Lingayats, or a dispute over political affiliations, which concerns primarily
•665 the more well-informed villages, are two examples of a faction type that is neither Nilgiri-wide in its application nor confined to a single hamlet. It seems to be an intermediate type concerning particular interest groups. Some other examples can be offered in the period since 1913.

578 In 1953 a Badaga Christian studying at Madras University wanted to join the
877 Badaga Students' Association there; and shortly afterwards another Badaga Christian posed the same problem. Two factions therefore emerged in the Association, which had always been tacitly recognized as a purely Hindu organization: one faction accepted Christian members, the other did not. They celebrated their annual "day" on separate occasions for as long as the Christian Badagas remained in the University.

578 Another case concerned only the Christian Badagas. Some years ago in one
771 of the Christian villages a majority of the Badagas and some of the Tamil Christians
794 decided that it was disrespectful for the priest to wear shoes while conducting a
(793) church service: they reasoned that it would certainly be a gross misdemeanor for a Hindu priest to wear shoes in a temple. For some time the congregation was divided into two factions on this question, and those opposed to shoes in the church would neither wear them there themselves nor attend a service conducted by a priest wearing shoes. Now the dispute has subsided and the two sides interdine and talk

177 178 The closer cultural ties with the plains, that are reflected in the adoption of the dowry custom, are strongly evidenced also in recent religious changes. The Lingayats have developed closer ties with their gurus and maths (or monasteries) -- the organized "church" of Vīraśaivism -- in Mysore State. Many Badagas have begun to observe ceremonies, such as Dīpāvali, which until 30 or 40 years ago were associated only with Tamilians and Kanarese. Today most Badaga villages have regular devotional evenings at which bhajans are sung (in Tamil) and Kriśna is worshipped. Another development, unrelated to these, has been the appearance of a Roman Catholic community among the Christians.

178 578 615 (618) Finally in this summary we must take note of the new factions that have emerged since the early years of this century. Most important was the deepening of the cleavage between those supporting Wodeya superiority and those who supported the Haruva claim: this occurred in about 1928 when the former faction threw off its traditional ties with the Kotas, ostensibly because they did not want Kota music performed at funerals, while the smaller pro-Haruva faction has continued its relationship with the Kotas insofar as this is still economically feasible.

● 665 578 The only other factional division that has assumed Nilgiri-wide proportions was one that lasted for a quarter-century prior to Independence, and which separated Justice Party supporters from National Congress supporters. All other conflicts have been relevant only to certain sections of the Badaga community. One divided the Lingayats into two factions, those approving marriages with Kanarese Lingayats and those opposed to the practice. Another cleavage split the Protestant Christians, over the question of whether a priest should wear shoes in the church. Christians were also involved in an unusual three-way dispute in one hamlet, where converts from the Gauda, the Beda and the Kumbara phratry each claimed higher social